

Ally Grant

COLLECTANEA ADAMANTÆA.—X.

THE
Chronicles of London

FROM

44 HEN. III. TO 17 EDW. III.

TRANSLATED FROM A MS. IN
THE COTTONIAN LIBRARY,

BY

EDMUND GOLDSMID, F.R.H.S.
F.S.A. (Scot.)



IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.



PRIVATELY PRINTED.
EDINBURGH

1885

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*This edition is limited to 400 small-paper copies,
and 75 large-paper copies.*



Introduction.



“THE Manuscript from which the following Chronicle of London has been transcribed forms the latter portion of a small parchment book in octavo, preserved among the Cottonian Manuscripts (Cleopatra, A. vi.), and commences at folio 54. It is written in the old Norman French, and from the handwriting appears to have been compiled about the middle of the fourteenth century, but unfortunately no clue exists by which the name of the writer can be ascertained. The period which it embraces is from the 44th of Henry III. to the 17th of Edward III., and at the commencement of each year are recorded the names of the mayors and sheriffs of London.”¹

With these words Mr. Aungier begins his introduction to the original text of the Chronicle

¹ Mr. Aungier's Introduction to the Norman-French Text, published by him for the Camden Society.

of London. The present editor has always regretted that this edition should have been issued without a translation: the ancient Norman-French in which the MS. is written is almost incomprehensible to all but one who has made this dialect his special study, and the interest therefore of the Chronicle is much diminished. It is in the hope of being useful to many who, till now, have been unable to make use of this valuable MS., that the present translation has been undertaken.

A desire to render the following pages more attractive to the general reader, has induced the editor to insert most of the copious notes added by Mr. Aungier to his edition; and, in a few instances, he has subjoined illustrations or explanations of his own, where it appeared to him that the text was in need of such elucidation.

The following description of old London and her inhabitants, during the period embraced by the chronicle, an era in every respect as important as any in our annals, may not be thought uninteresting; it is quoted from Mr. Aungier's Introduction:—

“Proceeding eastward along the Strand,¹ the

¹ At a very early period, the *Strand*, it appears formed a part of the banks of the Thames, and remained *as a strand* after all other parts in the vicinity of the growing London had lost their native character and appearance. In 1315 it is stated that

visitor in the 14th century would approach the outer barrier of the city, which marked the extent of its liberties; and which, from the adjoining magnificent house of the Templars, was named Temple Bar. Passing this barrier, which from the name constantly used in old documents seems to have been merely a bar, he would enter Fleet Street, at this period not devoted to any particular trade, but abounding in shops, and surrounded by a populous neighbourhood; then, passing on the right hand the noble convent of the White Friars, he approached, not a broad street, but a river, tolerably broad, and with a very rapid current, from whence was derived its name, the Fleet,^x

the footway at the entrance of Temple Bar, and from thence to the Palace of Westminster, was so bad that the feet of horses, and rich and poor men, received constant damage, particularly in the rainy season; at the same time the footway was interrupted by *thickets and bushes*. The sites of two of the bridges in the line of the Strand at that period are marked out and preserved by the names given to the lanes through which their channels found way,—Ivy-bridge Lane and Strand-bridge Lane, opposite the end of Newcastle Street. (Knight's London.)

^x The Fleet has its origin in the high grounds of that most beautiful of heaths, Hampstead; nor did its waters for some centuries belie the place of their birth. From Hampstead it passed by Kentish Town, Camden Town, and the old church of St. Pancras, towards Battle Bridge, in the neighbourhood of which place an anchor is said to have been found, from which it is

and which at this period was crowded with small vessels laden chiefly with lime and charcoal, and bound to the wharfs which extended as far as Battle Bridge, now called King's Cross. Crossing Fleet Bridge, he would now enter Ludgate Street; and, passing on the right hand the large convent of the Blackfriars, whose fine gardens extended down to the Thames, he crossed the draw-bridge that spanned the wide city ditch; and, passing beneath King Lud's gate, entered the city. There the wide street of Ludgate opened to his view the west front of London's chief ornament, St. Paul's church. Quitting this noble structure, and passing along the churchyard, which was open for passengers during the day, the spectator would enter the 'West-Cheape,' a wide and almost triangular area, formed by the street now called Cheapside; and a field named in old records the Crownsild, which seems to have extended along the southern side near the top, and also included part of what is now Paternoster Row. In the midst of this

inferred, that vessels must have anciently passed from the Thames so far up the river. It next directed its course past Bagnigge Wells and the House of Correction, towards the valley at the back of Mount Pleasant, Warner Street and Saffron Hill, and so to the bottom of Holborn. Here it received the waters of the Old Bourne (whence the name Holborn) which rose near Middle Row, and the channel of which forms the sewer of Holborn Hill to this day.

vacant space stood the Standard, an ancient stone cross; and around it were stands, where the sellers of fish and vegetables, and the butchers from the neighbouring shambles, in blue frocks, and holding pole-axes, sold their wares;¹ while the houses and shops that surrounded this market-place were inhabited by the goldsmiths, the pepperers, the mercers, and the linen armourers. Although the shops were unglazed, and the expensive fittings-up of modern times unknown, still West-Chepe, even at this period, is said to have presented a splendid appearance.² Proceeding eastward along West-

¹ In the time of Henry III. the inquest of the Ward of Chepe present "that from the ancient days of the kingdom, the people were accustomed to hold a market in West Chepe, as of corn, bread, fish, vegetables, flesh, and many other kinds of merchandise; but that Henry Walies, who was mayor, ejected almost all from the fair, to the injury of the king, the city, and the whole community." In consequence of their representation, we find that the market was soon after restored.

² The Cheapside of the present day, and the "West-Chepe" of the 14th century, is not merely altered in name; the high footpath, supported by huge piles of wood, is replaced by a smooth pavement; the picturesque dwellings, with their acute and quaintly carved gables and overhanging stories, have made way for uninteresting lines of brickwork; "the greate cross" has been demolished; and the "great conduite" is no more. It takes its name from the Saxon word *Chepe*, signifying a market, and was called "West-Chepe," to distinguish it from another market called "East-Chepe."

Chepe, the graceful cross of Queen Alianor, at the top of Wood Street, appeared; then the handsome church of St. Mary-le-Bow; and lower, on the opposite side, the chapel of St. Thomas of Acons; and further on, Serne's tower.¹ On the site of the present Mansion-house was the Stocks-market, a smaller and inferior market to that of West-Chepe; and beyond, Cornhill, for centuries the mart for clothing and household furniture, from the convenience of its situation to the braziers of Lothbury, the great manufacturers of kitchen utensils, and the tailors and linen armourers of Coleman Street and the adjacent parts, the exclusive makers of both linen and woollen clothing; and Lombard Street, then the residence of foreign merchants. The line along Lombard Street and West-Chepe was the chief road through the city; and, on account of its width, its noble appearance, and the wealth of its inhabitants, it became the highway along which every procession to the tournament, to the coronation, or to the royal funeral, passed. The second road through the city seems to have been the only way in Saxon times; it led

¹ Serne's Tower, in Bucklersbury, was a royal mansion. Edward III., in the 18th year of his reign, probably from its vicinity to Lombard Street, made it his exchange for bullion. In 1358 he gave the same tower to his free chapel of St. Stephen at Westminster. (Stowe.)

along Old Fish Street, where, until the 14th century, the chief fish-market was held, along Wathe-ling Street, passing Tower Royal¹ into Candle-wick Street, for so many centuries the residence of the wealthy drapers, who seem to have been bound by strong ties to a spot placed beneath the protection of their patroness St. Mary Bothaw, and close beside the highly valued 'London Stone.'² Next was East Chepe, the old Saxon

¹ Tower Royal, now inhabited by speculating merchants, derives its designation from being the site of a fortress of impregnable strength; but by whom built is not known. During the turbulent and eventful reign of King Stephen, it was occupied as a stronghold for himself and his Flemish mercenaries; and, although in the present day scarcely a sound of the busy metropolis can be heard, at that period it echoed with the loud neighing of the war-horse, the heavy tread of the mail-clad warrior, and the din and clash of arms. During the reign of Richard II., according to Stowe, it was called the Queen's Wardrobe.

² The recorded history of "London Stone" reaches beyond the Conquest. According to Stowe, it is mentioned as a land-mark in a list of rents belonging to Christ's Church in Canterbury, at the end of "a fair written Gospel book," given to that foundation by the West Saxon king Athelstane, who reigned from 925 to 941. Camden, with great probability considers this famous Stone, which still remains within a niche placed against the south wall of St. Swithin's church in Cannon Street, as the central *Milliarium*, or mile-stone, similar to that in the Forum at Rome, from which the chief British highroads radiated, and the

market, celebrated from the time of Fitz-Stephen to the days of Lydgate, for the abundance and variety of the provisions sold there. This street communicated with New Fish Street, where at this period a very large market, both for fresh and salt fish, was held, and which joined the bridge, which at this time, and for centuries after, was thickly crowded with houses. The more eastern parts of the city seem to have been remarkable for trade. A large number of foreigners, basket-makers, and wire drawers, were about this time, according to Stowe, located in Blanche-Appleton Court, near Leadenhall Street; and we also find that many artisans, employed in the inferior trades, dwelt round about. At the east end of the city

distances on them were reckoned. It stood anciently on the south side of Candlewyke Street (Cannon Street), pitched upright near the channel or kennel, according to Stowe, who adds, that it was "fixed in the ground very deep, fastened with bars of iron, and otherwise so strongly set that if carts do run against it through negligence the wheels be broken and the stone itself unshaken." It is now reduced, judging from what may be seen of it, to much less than its original size. We owe the preservation of this ancient and venerable relic to Mr. Thomas Maiden, of Sherbourn Lane, printer, who, it is said, when St. Swithin's Church was about to undergo a repair in 1798, prevailed on the parish officers to consent that the stone should be placed where it still remains, after it had been doomed to destruction as a nuisance. (Knight's London.)

was the Tower, called by Fitz-Stephen the 'Palatine Tower.'

"But if the eastern part of London could not vie in wealth and importance with West-Chepe, in the number and splendour of its conventual establishments it yielded to none. The priory of the Holy Trinity, founded by Queen Maud, consort of Hen. I. in the year 1108, for canons regular of the order of St. Augustin, and said to be the wealthiest in England, stood just within Aldgate; not far distant was the house of the nuns of St. Clare, brought into England by Blanche, Queen of Navarre, who was wife to Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, Leicester, and Derby, about A.D. 1293; and near that the convent of the 'Fratres Sancti Crucis,' which has given its name to Crutched Friars; and the abbey founded by King Edward III. of St. Mary of Grace, near the Tower, after he had encountered a tempest at sea. In Bishops-gate Street was the priory of the nuns of St. Helen; on the site of Spitalfields Church was the great hospital of St. Mary Spital, founded by Walter Brune, citizen of London, and Rosia his wife, in 1235; while just withinside the city wall rose the equally noble foundation of Simon Fitz-Mary, sheriff of London in 1246, the hospital or priory of St. Mary of Bethlehem, afterwards converted into a house or hospital for the reception of lunatics.

“Returning to the foot of the bridge, to the west, close by the water-side, the stockfishmongers had their dwellings; close beside, were the large warehouses, and stone hall, and tall watch-tower, of the merchants of the Steelyard;¹ next, the stately mansion of Cold Harbour; and then the great stone houses of the merchants of the Vintry, and their extensive quay, crowded with shipping; further on, Queenhithe, a large public wharf for salt and corn; then a series of wharves; and at the west angle of the city wall arose two well fortified castles, Baynard’s Castle and the Tower of Montfichet.² Beyond were the gardens of the Blackfriar’s convent, the mouth of the Fleet, the ancient palace of Bridewell, an occasional royal residence even from the Conquest, and the garden of the Whitefriars and the Temple. The western liberties

¹ For many particulars relating to the Steel-yard and its merchants, see Strype’s, Stowe’s and Pennant’s Accounts of London, and especially Hakluyt’s Collection of Voyages.

² Baynard’s Castle was built by a nobleman named Baynard, a follower of the Conqueror. In 1198 it came into the possession of Robert FitzWalter, who played a conspicuous part in the barons’ wars in the time of King John, and was “castilian and banner-bearer of London.” Castle Baynard Ward derives its name from this celebrated building. The Tower of Montfichet was built by a nobleman named “Le Sire Mountfichet,” also a follower of the Conqueror. It was totally destroyed about the year 1276.

of the city seem to have been very populous. The space between Fleet Street and Holborn was inhabited chiefly by smiths and tanners; on each side of the river Fleet were the wharves of the lime-burners, and dealers in charcoal and sea-coal.¹ The butchers dwelt nearly on the site of Newgate Market; and turners of beads, and scribes, both in the neighbourhood of Chancery Lane and of Paternoster Row.

“Like the north-eastern, the north-western quarter was crowded with religious houses. On the spot where that most excellent establishment

¹ The historiographers of the City of London relate, that about the close of the reign of King Edward I. the trades of that city, which required much fuel, first began to use sea-coal, such as dyers, brewers, &c., against which practice several of the nobility, gentry, and others, complained to the king, as being a public nuisance, when he granted a commission of inquiry into the same: in consequence of which he issued a severe proclamation against the use of sea-coals, under the penalty of fines, &c. Those trades, however, finding the scarcity and price of wood-fuel daily increasing, found it their interest to make use of sea-coal; and, notwithstanding this prohibition they soon after were under the necessity of being supplied with that fuel from Newcastle-upon-Tyne. In the Parliament Roll of 15 and 16 Edward II. is a petition relating to this article of Richard del Hurst of London, who prays for payment of 10s. for the sea-coal (*carboun de meer*) ordered for the coronation feast of Edward II. (Rot. Parl. i. 405.)

Christ's Hospital now stands, was the noble and richly-endowed house of the Grey Friars, with its splendid church, inferior in size and grandeur to the metropolitan cathedral alone, beneath whose lofty and fretted roof four queens,¹ and other persons of rank almost innumerable, reposed amid the escutcheoned pomp of departed greatness. Near it the wealthy priory and hospital of St. Bartholomew, founded by the pious Rahere, and endowed by the virtuous Queen Maud; and, just beyond, the munificence of Sir Walter Manny, a few years after, founded the Carthusian Priory, which now bears the name of the Charter House. To the north, just within the city gate, was the Saxon foundation of St. Martin's, well named 'le Grand,' from its large and abundant privileges. Withoutside the gate was the mansion of the Duke of Britany, which has given its name to Little Britain; while from thence to the wide moor of Finsbury the numerous streets and alleys were occupied by the lower orders of artificers—curriers, bowyers, and bowstring makers.

¹ Margaret wife of Edward I., Isabella wife of Edward II., Joan Queen of Scots, daughter of Edward II., and Isabella Queen of Man. There was, besides the heart of a fifth queen, Alianor, wife of Henry III. and also the heart of king Edward II. See the Register of all the inscriptions existing in this church, temp. Henry the VIII. printed in the *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, vol. V.

“Such was London—the “lady of the kingdoms”—the modern Tyre, during the fourteenth century; and if it might scarcely be recognised by the inhabitants of the present day, far less would its suburbs. To the west and the north wide tracts of forest land, covering that large space on which in late years a complete town has been built; to the east a succession of moors and green marshes; while, nearer at hand, there was the stately palace of Westminster, rising from the water’s edge, with the adjoining convent and abbey, standing almost alone. Then the hermitage of Charing, looking toward the noble mansion of the Archbishop of York, now Whitehall;¹ and the

¹ Whitehall, or rather the palace, for that name was unknown until after Wolsey’s time, was originally built by Hubert de Burgh, the eminent but persecuted Justiciary of England, during the reign of Henry III. He bequeathed it to the convent of Black Friars in Holborn, and they sold it to Walter de Grey, Archbishop of York, in 1248. From that time it was called York House, and remained for nearly three centuries the residence of the prelates of that see. The last archiepiscopal owner was Wolsey. Fiddes, in his *Life of that prelate*, says he built a great part of York House, and it has been supposed that among these erections a “White Hall, properly so called, was erected by Wolsey, and obtained its name from the freshness of its appearance, when compared with the ancient buildings of York House;” and hence the origin of the present appellation.

Leper House of St. Giles, literally "in the fields," and the simple church of St. Martin, with its equally appropriate title, and the meadow land, and gentle slopes, intersected by the rapid Fleet, which extended from St. Giles-in-the-Fields to the Elm-trees, on the western side of Smithfield. Due northward arose the stately mansion of the Knights of St. John, a palace of size and splendour, and beside it the priory of the nuns of Clerkenwell, founded A.D. 1100 by Jordan Briset, a knight or baron. Beyond, the little village of Iseldune (Islington) peeped from the surrounding woods; nearer, but more to the east, was the village of Hochestone (Hoxton), amid corn-fields and windmills; then the green moorlands of Finsburie, with the holy well of St. Agnes, and, close adjoining, the priory of the nuns of Haliwell, founded before 1127 by Roger Fitz-Gelran. From hence the eye ranged over wide tracts of meadow land to the grey tower of the distant church of Stibenhede (Stepney), while the massive keep of the Tower and the spires of St. Katharine closed the view. Although each successive generation brought alterations, there were comparatively few important additions for full two centuries. During the fifteenth the erection of Guildhall, which until then was a mean and low building, in Aldermanbury, (a site known by that name in the year 1189); the opening of

Moorgate, and the planting of Moorfields; the building of many of the city companies' halls, and that beautiful row of houses which extended along the upper south side of Westchepe, between Bread Street and the Cross, called "Goldsmiths'-row," built by Thomas Wood, goldsmith, and sheriff in 1491, were the chief improvements. In the following century London fell far below her ancient splendour; and the fire of London in the seventeenth only completed the ruin which the sixteenth century had begun."

The present editor claims no merit beyond that of a translator: he fears that even in this work many shortcomings will be observable, but he trusts to the good nature of his readers, and to their appreciation of the difficulties of his task.

EDMUND GOLDSMID.

EDINBURGH, 4th June 1885.



THE
Chronicles of London,
FROM
44 HEN. III. TO 17 EDW. III.



xliiij. William Fitz-Richard, mayor. Henry of Coventry and Adam Broning, sheriffs.

In this year two Romans were killed in West-Chepe, to wit, Masters Johan le Gras and Beisantyn, by strangers. This year a quarrel arose between Prince Edward and Richard, Earl of Gloucester, wherefore the gates of London were closed and guarded by armed men for full five weeks and more, for the king was beyond the

sea to cement an alliance with the king of France.¹

xliv. The said William, mayor. Johan de Northampton and Richard Pikard, sheriffs.

In this year, on the eve of St. John, there escaped from Newgate, Roger de Clere, Geoffrey de Toucester, Johan de St. Alban, Johan de York, and three others, for which Roger, the jailor, was taken and imprisoned in Newgate.

xlvi. The said William, mayor. Philip le Tailour and Richard de Walbrok, sheriffs.

xlvii. Thomas Fitz-Thomas, mayor.² Robert de Montpellier and Hubert de Suffolk, sheriffs.

¹ This quarrel is thus noticed in MS. Cott. Vitellius, A. xvi. f. 7^b. "The kyng and the quene and other barons and lordes went ovyr the see into Fraunce, and there thei dwelled half a yere and more with grete honoure and love, so that he hadde no will homeward, but the lordes and comons of England treded so fayre and saide but yf he wold come home they wold chese them a newe kyng, for there was grete discorde bytwene Sir Edward the kynges sone and Sir Richard Earle of Gloucestre, so that alle Englonde was moeved unto werre, and so the kyng byfore Whitsontyde come into Englonde, and so to London, and he lay in the bisshoppys palice of London unto the time that it was peace throughe Englonde." See also *Maitland's Hist. of London*, i. 93. *Lingard*, iii. 127.

² He served the office of mayor from 1262 to 1265 inclusive, and again in 1269.

In this year began the war between the king and his barons about the provisions of Oxford.¹ Soon was taken the Bishop of Hereford by the barons.²

In this year was the new hall of Westminster burnt.³

¹ The Provisions of Oxford, as they were called, extorted from Henry the Third by Simon de Montfort, led to a civil war which had almost subverted the government, and actually proved the ruin of many noble families. (Carte, ii. 252). In London the aldermen and some of the principal citizens were devoted to the king, but the mayor and the populace openly declared for the barons. Fitz Thomas being a partisan of the Earl of Leicester, a convention for their mutual security had been signed by that officer and the commonalty of the city on the one part, and the earls of Leicester, Gloucester, and Derby, Hugh le Despenser, the grand justiciary, and twelve barons on the other. In the different wardmotes, every male inhabitant above twelve years of age was sworn a member of the association; a constable and marshal of the city were appointed, and orders were given, that, at the sound of the great bell at St. Paul's, all should assemble in arms, and obey the authority of their officers. *Lingard*, iii. 134.

² Peter de Egeblaunch, or Egueblank, a Frenchman, elected 24 Aug. 1240. He was drawn out of his cathedral by Thomas Turbervill and others, and sent to the castle of Erdesley. His treasure was spoiled, and his canons imprisoned. He died 27 Nov. 1268.

³ This event is thus recorded in the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, f. 73^b. (MS. Harl. 690). "Anno eodem (1262) septimo die Februar. combust. sunt proprio igne

✧ This year was the queen rudely hooted and insulted at the bridge of London, as she wished to go from the Tower to Westminster,¹ because she had caused to be killed a gentle maiden, the most beautiful man ever knew, and whom she believed to be the concubine of the king. Wherefore the queen caused her to be seized and stripped naked, and caused her to be placed between two great fires in a chamber very closely shut in, so that the very beautiful maiden was much exhausted, for she believed she would be burned up, and so began to make great lamentation. And meanwhile the queen had caused a bath to be prepared, and then made the beautiful maiden enter therein, and caused a wicked hag to strike the beautiful maiden with a lance on both arms, and as soon as the blood spurted out, came another infernal witch, who carried two horrible toads on a stool, and placed them on the breasts of the gentle maiden, and soon they seized her breasts and began to suck,

suo parva aula domini regis apud Westmon. camera et capella et recept. et aliæ plures domus offic."

¹ This incident, marking the coarse manners of the age, and queen Eleanor's unpopularity, occurred according to Lingard on the 14th June. The story of Rosamond, which follows, appears to be an abridgement of some romance or legend, and the writer of the Chronicle has erroneously supposed it had reference to Henry the Third instead of Henry the Second.

and two other old women held her arms extended, so that the beautiful maiden could not sink in the water before the blood which was in her body had flowed out. And meanwhile the filthy toads sucked the breasts of the very beautiful maiden, and the queen, laughing, mocked her, and had great joy in her heart that she was thus avenged of Rosamund; and when she was dead she caused the body to be taken and buried in a filthy ditch, and the toads with the body. But when the king had heard the news how the Queen had treated the lovely maiden whom he so loved, and was so dear to his heart, great sorrow and lamentation did he make. "Alas! woe! what shall I do for lovely Rosamond? For never was her equal found in beauty, natural charms and courtesy." And when he had long made like lamentation, he wished to know what had become of the body of the beautiful maiden. Then the king caused one of the wicked witches to be seized and had her put to great torture, in order to make her tell the truth as to what they had done with the beautiful maiden, and swore by God omnipotent that if she lied in one word she should suffer the most horrible sentence that man could pronounce. Then began the hag to speak and to tell the king all the truth, what the queen had done to the beautiful body of t he

gentle maiden, and in what place it would be found. And meanwhile, the queen had caused the body of the lovely maiden to be taken up, and ordered them to carry the body to a religious house, which is named Godstow, two leagues from Oxford, and there to bury the body of Rosamund to hide her evil actions, so that no one should perceive the filthy and villainous deeds which the queen had done, and to excuse herself for the death of the lovely maiden. And then King Henry began to ride towards Woodstock, where Rosamund, whom he had so fondly loved in his heart, had been so treacherously murdered by the queen; and as the king rode towards Woodstock, he met the dead body of Rosamund tightly enclosed within a coffin strongly bound with iron. And the king asked whose body that was, and what was the name of the dead body they carried. Then they answered him that this was the body of lovely Rosamund. And when King Henry heard this, he ordered imperiously that they should open the coffin, so that he might see the body which had been so shamefully martyred. Then they did the command of the king, and showed him the body of Rosamund who had been so hideously put to death. And when King Henry saw the truth, for great grief he fell to earth, and long lay in a trance ere anyone could obtain speech from him.

And when the king recovered from his swoon, he said, and swore a great oath, that he would be avenged of the infamous felony which had, through great jealousy, been done to the gentle maiden. Then began the king to lament and mourn greatly for lovely Rosamund whom he so loved in his heart. "Alas! woe!" said he, "sweet Rosamund, never was there thine equal, never was there so sweet and so lovely a creature seen: therefore gentle God who art in Trinity, of the soul of sweet Rosamund have mercy, and forgive her all her sins; true God omnipotent, who art the end and the beginning, suffer not that her soul perish in any horrible torment, and grant her true remission of all her sins, through Thy great mercy." And when he had thus prayed, he ordered them to go straight to Godstow with the body of the unfortunate maiden, and caused her burial to take place in that holy house of nuns, and there ordered thirteen chaplains to chaunt for the repose of the soul of the said Rosamund so long as time endures. In this holy house of Godstow, I tell you in truth, lies buried lovely Rosamund. True God omnipotent, on her soul have mercy. Amen.

xlviij. Thomas Fitz-Thomas, mayor. Gregory de Rokesby and Thomas de la Forde, sheriffs.

In this year, on the 4th and 5th of the Ides of April, took place the massacre of the Jews

in London.¹ In the same year, on the 6th of the Ides of May, was the great fire in Westcheap, of Milk Street and Bread Street.² And on the following day was the battle of Lewis,³ that is to say the Wednesday before the feast of St. Dunstan. In this year was seen in the heavens, a star which is called a comet.⁴ At the same time were great fires in England, and Isleworth was burnt and Jewry destroyed.⁵

¹ According to Fabyan and Maitland, this barbarous massacre took place on the plea, real or pretended, that one of that persecuted race had endeavoured to extort more than legal interest (twopence a week for twenty shillings) from a Christian; upwards of five hundred Jews were cruelly put to death by the populace, and their houses and synagogues, which Henry had permitted them to build in the beginning of his reign, were destroyed. An account of this transaction will be found in the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, f. 83.

² Stowe (*Annales*, f. 194, ed. Howes) observes, "About that time a great part of Westcheape in London was brent *by treason*."

³ The battle of Lewes, gained by Simon de Montfort against the royalists on the 14th of May, 1264, interested the Londoners, more than three thousand of whom, who sided with Leicester, are said to have been slain on the field.

⁴ See Stowe (*Annales*, f. 195, ed. Howes).

⁵ The baronial party in London, under the direction of two citizens, Thomas de Punelesdon and Stephen Buckerell, destroyed the property of all opposed to them, not exempting even the private dwellings of the king and his brother. They wantonly burnt the

xlix. The said Thomas, Mayor. Edward le Blount, draper, and Piers Aunger, sheriffs.

In this year there were great thunderstorms in England, and by a storm was part destroyed of the Tower of St. Bartholomew in London.¹

In this year, on the 1st of August, part of the the Barons who maintained the Provisions of Oxford were taken at Kenilworth in company of Simon de Montfort the younger,² and the

country house of the latter in Isleworth, near the Thames, levelled his fences, uprooted his orchards, and cut through the head of a large fish-pond lately made at a vast expense. (*Chron. Wikes*, p. 59). They also burnt another of his houses near Westminster. For this outrage, when the king had suppressed the rebellion of the barons, he obliged the citizens to pay a fine of 1000 marks to the Earl of Cornwall as compensation.

¹ Mr. Halliwell, in his preface to Rishanger's Chronicle, p. xxxiv, printed for the Camden Society, has collected several extracts, taken from inedited MSS. relative to the tremendous hurricanes and storms which took place throughout England on the eve of the battle of Evesham.

² It appears that Simon de Monfort the younger, and his knights, on the night of the 1st August, slept out of the castle of Kenilworth for the sake of bathing in the morning, whereby to make them more alert in battle. Edward, upon being informed of this circumstance by a spy, surprised them in their beds about sunrise; twelve bannerets, with all their followers, were made prisoners, and their horses and treasures repaid the industry of the captors. Simon alone with

following Tuesday took place the battle of Evesham, on the eve of the feast of St. Oswald.¹

1. Sir Hugh Fitz-Otto was made governor of London, and the mayor and sheriffs abolished for five years, because the city had supported the barons. In this year, Stephen Bokerel, Thomas de Penlesland, Michael Thony, goldsmith; John, the hatter of the fleet, and others, were summoned, by letter of King Henry, to come to him at Winchester, and as soon as they were come, the king commanded that they should be thrown into prison, and the king gave them to Sir Edward, his son, and he detained them in prison until each had ransomed himself, by which means they gave great possessions to Sir Edward before they were released, and Sir Edward would have given a great part of their land to his knights, in disinheritance of them and their heirs for ever, if they had not repurchased it with their money.
- li. William Fitz Richard, governor. John Adrian, and Walter Harvey, bailiffs. And this William

his pages escaped naked into the castle. (See Chron. Thomæ Wikes, p. 69. Chron de Mailros, 230, 231.)

¹ For an account of the battle of Evesham and death of Simon de Montfort, together with the miracles ascribed to him after his death, see Rishanger's Chronicle (ut supra), Tindal's Hist. of Evesham, pp. 305 et seq. and Lee's Hist. of Lewes, &c. pp. 165, 166.)

Fitz Richard was only governor for the king from the feast of St. Martin to the day of the Ascension.¹ And the said John Adrian and Walter Harvey were made bailiffs, under Sir John de la Lynde,² and Sir John Walravene, who was constable of the Tower, until the feast of St. Michael. In this year on the Feast of the Holy Cross in August, Sir Edward Trayner made Gervoise Skyret prisoner, who was taken from the cemetery of St. Sepulchre, for the death of Giles de Wodeham, for which

¹ From the various fortunes of the barons' wars the citizens derived very little advantage. On the final restoration of the king's power in 1265 they underwent a series of misfortunes and indignities, compared with which their former grievances were light and easy. The city lost its liberties—its posts and chains (the tokens of its freedom) were taken away, and, as already observed, Thomas fitz Thomas, the mayor, and chief citizens were imprisoned, and left to the mercy of the king. The houses of the principal citizens concerned in the barons' insurrections were pillaged and given away, with all their lands and goods that they were possessed of in any part of the kingdom. As an atonement for past offences, the king finally demanded sixty thousand marks, an immense sum at that period, although he consented afterwards to take twenty thousand. The city at length recovered its privileges, though four years elapsed before all its rights were completely restored. (*Liber de Antiq. Legibus*, f. 96, et seq.)

² Sir John de la Lynde and Sir John Walravene succeeded Fitz-Otto as custodes of the city.

Master Jeffrey de St. Dunstan suffered great persecution for the freedom of Holy Church. In the same year, after the Feast of Trinity, began the siege of Kenilworth, and continued to the Feast of St. Lucy, when the castle was surrendered. In the same year, about the feast of St. Michael, the disinherited (barons) conquered the isle of Ely.

- lii. Still there was no mayor in London, but Johan Adrian and Lucas de Batencourt, bailiffs, under Sir Johan de la Lynde. In the same year, on the Monday before Candlemas, the king moved from Westminster to Waltham, intending to go to Bury St. Edmund's to besiege the Isle of Ely.¹

¹ While the king was employed in reducing a party of the late faction who had fortified themselves in the Isle of Ely, the City of London, as well as the whole kingdom, were once more thrown into confusion by the Earl of Gloucester, who, raising an army on the borders of Wales, and marching to London, was received by the citizens, many of whom, says Fabyan, "as men without drede of God or of theyr kynge," were ready again to join the standard of rebellion. Having got possession of the city, all the citizens who sided with the king were seized and imprisoned, and their goods confiscated. The magistrates were degraded, and Robert de Linton and Roger Marshall were made bailiffs; Sir Richard de Culworth being appointed high bailiff of the city by the Earl of Gloucester. All those who had been outlawed on account of the late rebellion returned, and were

liii. Willliam Fitz-Richard, Governour. Walter Hervi and William de Durham, bailiffs. And in the same month, in the Parliament at Winchester, Philip le Taylour and Walter le Porter were made sheriffs. And, by consent of the Prelates, Earls, and Barons, the king gave his cross to Sir Edward his son, so that he might go, in his own name and in that of his father to the Holy Land, and granted him the twentieth of whatever sum was raised in England. And after the twentieth day of August, he and his wife and many great Lords of the land passed the sea at Dover as Crusaders. Afterwards Walter and Philip were removed from their office of Sheriffs, and Gregory de Rokesby and Henry Waleis were made Sheriffs by the citizens.

liv. Sir Hugh Fitz-Otho, Governour. Thomas de Basing and Robert de Cornhill, bailiffs.

lv. Sir Hugh Fitz-Otho, Governour. Walter le Porter and Philip le Taylour, sheriffs.

graciously received, and those who were imprisoned for the same were set free. This rebellion, however, being suppressed, the king by his precept reinstated John Adrian and Lucas de Batencourt in their office of bailiffs, as also all those aldermen who had been displaced from their wards; and shortly after Sir Alan la Zouche was made constable of the Tower and custos of the city by the king at St. Paul's Cross before all the people. (*Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, f. 107—111. Pat. 51 Hen. III. m. 15. MS. addit. 5444, f. 81.)

lvi. Johan Adrian, Mayor. Gregory de Rokesby and Henry Waleis, sheriffs.

In this year, the steeple of St. Mary Arch fell to the ground.¹

lvii. Walter Hervi, mayor. Johan de Bodely and Richard de Paris, cordwainers, sheriffs.

The which Walter Hervi was made mayor by the election of the commons against the will of the Aldermen. He remained mayor the following year.² In this year died King Henry, on the feast of St. Edmund of Pounteneye, and on the feast

¹ According to MS. Add. 5444, f. 85, it appears that many persons were killed through this occurrence, "Eodem anno campanile lapideum beatæ Mariæ de arcubus in Foro London cecidit super magnam domum juxta ecclesiam, et oppressit quosdam viros ac mulieres."

² A similar transaction to that which took place in 1262-3 also occurred during this year (1272), 57 Hen. III. The *aldermanni et discretiores civitatis* elected Philip le Taylor as mayor against the wishes or will of the "vulgus," who set up Walter Hervey, an alderman, as their candidate, and forced him into the chair. The aldermen and the discreet men of their party appealed to the king and council, praying protection against the "*populus*" calling themselves the *communia* of the city. A compromise was, however, effected through the intervention of Walter de Merton, and other members of the king's council, by proposing a new election at St. Paul's Cross, when, with the assent of the aldermen, Hervey was continued in office for the year, after he had promised upon oath that he would not oppress or molest any person who had opposed his election. (*Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, f. 154^b et seq.)

of St. Edmund, the king was buried at Westminster. And as soon as the burial was over, Sir Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, and all the other great lords of England rendered fealty and homage to Sir Edward, son of King Henry, who was at that time in the Holy Land, on a pilgrimage, as I have said before.

REIGN OF EDWARD I.

The names of the Mayors and remarkable events in the reign of King Edward, son of King Henry.

- i. Walter Hervi, Mayor. Johan Horn and Walter le Porter, sheriffs.
- ii. Henry Waleis, Mayor. Henry de Coventry and Nicholas de Winchester, Sheriffs.

At this time, by Henry Waleis, was Walter Hervi removed from his office of Alderman. In this year came King Edward from the Holy Land, with his wife, and were crowned at Westminster the Sunday following the feast of the Assumption of our Lady, on the feast of St. Magnus, and the conduit in Cheap ran all day with red and white wine, so that he might drink who would.

- iii. Gregory de Rokesly, mayor. Lucas de Battencourt and Henry de Frowik, sheriffs.

In this same year Adam de Bekke, canon of the Church of St. Paul, was killed the day before

St. Andrew's Eve. And in this year, the Saturday before the feast of St. Bartholomew (nineteen prisoners) escaped out of Newgate.¹ In the same year, at the octave of St. Martin, the assize judges sat at the Cross of St. Peter, that is to say, Masters Roger de Seton, Johan de Cobham, and Salomon de Rowcester.

- iv. Gregory de Rokesly, mayor. John Horn and Ralph de Blount, goldsmith, sheriffs.

In the same year Michael Thoni, the younger, was convicted by the alderman, and hanged for murder and robbery.

- v. Gregory de Rokesly, mayor. Ralph d'Arras and Ralph le Fevre, sheriffs.

In this year, on the eve of St. Vincent, Sir Johan Lovetot and Sir Roger Loveday sat at the house of Johan Fitz-Johan, to try those who were indicted by twelve officers for larceny, receiving stolen goods, and sweating coin, and only three were convicted, one man and two women. In this year the king went to Wales with his army, and the city of London sent him 100 crossbow men.

- vi. Gregory de Rokesly, mayor. Johan, the son of Johan Adrian, and Walter de Cornwaleis,² sheriffs.

¹ "Eodem anno prisona de Neugate fuit fracta, et 19 carcerati evaserunt." MS. Add. 5444, f. 89.

² This name should be Lengleys, or Langley. (See MS. Lansd. 558, f. 204, and Stowe.)

In this year, the mayor was presented in the Tower of London to Sir Anthony de Bek,¹ and received by the king, and there took his oath. And the mayor received the sheriffs in the Guildhall, by order of the king, to save them from going to Wales. In this same year, Llewelyn surrendered to the king; and, to purchase peace, he gave him 50,000 marks sterling, and took an oath by the saints, to come twice each year to the king's Parliament; and then Llewelyn married the daughter of Sir Simon de Montfort, and in that year the said Llewelyn rendered homage to the king.²

vii. Gregory de Rokesly, mayor. William le Mazener and Robert de Basing, sheriffs.

¹ Archdeacon of Durham. Elected Bishop of Durham 9th July 1283; ob. 3 March, 1311. A memoir of this distinguished prelate may be found in Sir Harris Nicolas's "Siege of Carlaverock," p. 288.

² Llewelyn, prince of Wales, had been betrothed to Eleanor, daughter of his friend Simon de Montfort, before the battle of Evesham. In order that the marriage might be solemnized, the widowed countess of Leicester sent her into Wales, under the escort of her brother, Aimery de Montfort; but on her passage, near Bristol, the ship which carried her was captured, and, on their being taken before Edward, Aimery was committed to sure custody, and Eleanor retained at his court as his ward. In the negotiation which subsequently took place between the king and Llewelyn the fine of £50,000 was remitted, and the marriage consented to by Edward.

In this year the three war machines were made in the Tower. At this time the king of Scotland came to London to the king's Parliament from year to year, and had a very handsome residence between the dwellings of the Bishop of Chichester¹ and the Earl of Lancaster,² which is called the Savoy, without the bar of the new Temple. In the same year, at the octave of St. Martin, which was a Friday,³ all the Jews of England were taken for sweating gold, and coining, and at the feast of St. Lucia following, all the goldsmiths of London, all the money-changers, and many of the good people of the town, were taken for the purchase of plate, and for the exchange of heavy money for light, and were indicted by the officers. And on the Monday following Epiphany, there sat at the Guildhall, for jail delivery, Sir Stephen de Pevensey, Sir Walter de Helyon, and Sir Johan de Cobham, and such as they chose to sit with them; and in consequence, 3 Christians and 293 Jews were drawn and hanged for clipping of

¹ Stephen de Berksteed. Appointed 20 June 1261. ob. 21 Oct. 1287.

² Edmund, second son of Henry III. Earl of Chester and Leicester, created Earl of Lancaster 30 June, 1267; Steward of England; ob. 1295.

³ The original reads: "En mesme l'an, as outaves de Seint Martin qe fut par venderdi, ainz tierce, . . ."

coin.¹ The same year, the preaching brothers of London laid the foundation of their new

¹ During the reign of Edward I. the Jews were not only fined, taxed, imprisoned, and compelled to live in particular districts, as formerly, but the slightest defalcation in the payment of talliage, which was now levied on children as well as their parents, was punished by banishment. In such casee, the defaulter was compelled to appear at Dover before the expiration of three days, prepared for his migration. In 3 Edw. I. the statute *de Judaismo* was passed, which, though it abolished usury, placed the Jews on a more comfortable and secure footing than they had been in the reign of Edward's ancestors. It was not long, however, before the wrath of the king fell upon this devoted people, either through their own folly or the false accusations of their enemies. A general suspicion falling upon them that they were guilty of adulterating and clipping the coin, every Jew was seized upon in one day, viz. 17th Nov. 1279; and after full conviction, two hundred and eighty of them, both men and women, together with three Christians, received sentence of death at London, and were executed without mercy: besides great numbers in other parts. (Matt. Westm. p. 409.) Many more were retained in prison, and the records of that year abound with instances of the king's selling and granting their houses and lands, forfeited upon that occasion. This was but a prelude to their final banishment in 1290. The king seized upon all the real estates of the Jews in the kingdom, and banished the whole community for ever. (Rot. Claus. 18 Edw. I. m. 6. Pat. 18 Edw. I. m. 12, 14.) The Chronicle of London (MS. Arund. No. 19, f. 12^b in Coll. Arm.) says, "At the Feast of St. Martin there were

church at Castle Baynard, and Brother Robert of Kilwardby, Archbishop of Canterbury, was called by the apostolic see to be cardinal. And Brother Johan de Peckham, who was a friar minor, and a cardinal, was sent to England by the court of Rome to be consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury. In the same year was held the Round Table at Kylingworth.¹ In this year was the great fire of St. Botolf.² In this year a re-coinage took place at the Tower of London, and Gregory de Rokesly was Master of the Exchange for all England. In this year, talliage was levied on the 14th day of February in London for three years, but this was not taken before Shrovetide.

viii. Gregory de Rokesly, mayor. Thomas Box and Ralph de la More, sheriffs.

Jewis areest for treson and othere certeyn goldsmythis, and upon the Monday next after the Epiphanie thre cristin men of Ynglond and cc and iiij^{xx} and iij (*sic*) Jewis were drawe and an hongid."

¹ This took place on the occasion of the three sons (Edmund, William, and Geoffrey) of Roger de Mortimer being knighted by Edw. I. It was at these jousts that Maurice, eldest son of Maurice, second lord Berkeley, was killed. (Wright's Hist. of Ludlow, pp. 216, 217. Smythe's Lives of the Berkeleys, p. 103.)

² Boston, in Lincolnshire. This fire, which took place the 3 calend of August (30 July), destroyed the greater part of the town. "Eodem anno villa Sancti Botulphi fuit combusta." (MS. Addit. 5444, f. 92.)

In the same year, Johan de Chishull, bishop of London, died.

ix. Gregory de Rokesly, mayor. William de Far-
ringdon and Nicholas de Winchester, sheriffs.

x. Henry Waleis, mayor. William Mazener and
Richard de Chikewell, sheriffs.

In the same year, London Bridge was carried away by the great frost that happened.¹ In this same year the mayor first caused corn to be weighed on going to the mill, and flour returned; and he caused a hurdle to be provided to drag away those suffering from infectious diseases.

xi. Henry Waleis, mayor. Walter le Blount and
Angecelin de Beteville, sheriffs.

In this year Llewelyn, Prince of Wales, was

¹ Stowe, in his "Annales," edited by Edmund Howes, London, 1631, fol., p. 201, tells us, though without mentioning his authority, that "from this Christmas till the purification of Our Lady, there was such a frost and snow as no man living could remember the like: wherethrough five arches of London Bridge, and all Rochester Bridge, were borne downe, and carried away with the streame; and the like hapned to many bridges in England. And not long after men passed over the Thames between Westminster and Lambeth, and likewise over the river of Medway, betweene Stroude and Rochester, dry shod. Fishes in ponds, and birds in woods, died for want of food." (See also MS. Addit. 5444, f. 93.)

taken and decapitated, and his head sent to the Tower of London;¹ and Sir Edward, son of King Edward, was born on the feast of St. Mark.

xii. Henry Waleis, mayor. Martin Box and Jordan Godchep, sheriffs.

In this year David, brother of Llewelyn, was drawn, hanged, and beheaded, and his head sent to the Tower of London. In the same year, for the death of Lawrence Ducket, who was hanged in the church of Our Lady at Bow, seven persons were drawn and hanged, viz.: Reynold de Lanfar, Robert Pinnot, Paul de Stybbenheth, Thomas Coronner, Johan de Tholosane, Thomas Russell, and Robert Scott; and a woman, Alice, at Bow, was burnt for the same deed; and Ralph Crepyn, Jordan Godchep, Gilbert le Clerk, and Geoffrey le Clerk,

¹ He was killed at a battle near Builth. His head was afterwards cut off, and forwarded to Edward at Rhuddlan, who ordered it to be sent to London. The citizens met the messenger who brought it, and conducted him into the city with drums and trumpets, and proceeded in grand cavalcade through Cheapside, with the head fixed upon a lance, with a chaplet or circle of silver, to verify or ridicule the prediction of Merlin, who told the prince that his head should one day pass through Cheapside adorned with a silver coronet. It was then fixed for the remainder of the day upon the pillory, and afterwards upon the Tower of London, crowned with a wreath of ivy.

were found guilty of felony and sent prisoners to the Tower.¹

xiii. Gregory de Rokesly, mayor. Stephen de Cornhill and Robert de Rokesly, sheriffs.

¹ According to Stowe (Collections MS. Harl. 538, f. 13.), "Laurence Ducket, a citizen of London, havinge wounded another citizen, named Ralphe Cropin, in West Cheape, fled in to the church of St. Mary Bow. Into the which church entered in the night tyme certeyne evell persons, and slewe the sayd Lawrence lienge in the steeple. Which mourdar beinge bewrayed, divers persons were therefore executed, the rest were sent to the Tower of London, from whence they escaped afterwards for money." Maitland says, "They hanged him in one of the windows in such a manner as even to deceive the coroner's jury; who, having sat upon the body, brought in their verdict self-murder; whereby Ducket's corpse was drawn from thence by the feet, and buried in a ditch without the city. But a boy, who lay with him that night, and during that barbarous action concealed himself, having ventured to give information against the murderers, many persons were apprehended; sixteen were hanged, and a woman (Alice atte Bowe, mistress to Ralph Crepyn, clerk, MS. Addit. 5444, f. 95.), the chief contriver of the said murder, was burnt alive." Stowe adds, that several rich persons implicated were *hanged by the purse*, after long imprisonment. Upon this occasion the church was placed under an interdict, and the doors and windows filled with thorns, until the stain of murder was effaced by purification. At the same time reparation was made to Ducket's remains, which were honestly deposited in the churchyard.

In this year, on the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, the city of London was taken in hand by the king, for Gregory de Rokesly had given up the seal at Barking Church, and delivered it to Stephen Esshwy.

- xiv. Sir Ralph de Sandwich, governor. Walter le Blount (pensioner) and Johan Wade, sheriffs.

In this year the king passed over into France, to an interview, to make peace between three kings.¹

- xv. Sir Ralph de Sandwich, governor. Thomas Cross and Walter Hautein, sheriffs.

In this year all the Jews of England were taken and imprisoned, and put to ransom, the day after the feast of Saints Philip and James.²

¹ According to Matthew of Westminster (p. 412), Philip IV. King of France, shortly after his father's death, sent ambassadors to King Edward, beseeching him to come over to assume the office of mediator between himself (Philip) and the kings of Arragon and Spain. Edward complied with his desire, and on the viii calends of July (25th July) passed the sea, attended by many bishops, earls, and barons, and was received honourably by the king and nobles of France, and conducted to St. Germain's, where he staid some time, and demanded the lands which his grandfather King John had lost, and also obtained ten thousand pounds sterling of the king of France, to be yearly paid at the Tower of London, together with some arrears for Normandy. See also Rymer's *Fœdera* for the tedious negotiation on these subjects.

² The Jews incurred the king's displeasure, probably

xvi. The said Sir Ralph, governor. William de Hereford, and Thomas de Stanes, sheriffs.

xvii. Sir Johan de Bretton, governor. William de Betaigne and Johan de Canterbury, sheriffs.

In the same year the said Johan de Bretton was deposed, and the said Sir Ralph was made governor as before, and the king afterwards returned from abroad.

xviii. Sir Ralph de Sandwich, governor. Fulke de St. Esmonde and Salomon Coteller, sheriffs.

In the same year, all the justices were taken and put to ransom for their treason. Soon after the last Sunday in April, the Earl of Gloucester married Dame Joan of Acres,¹ daughter of the king, at Westminster. In the same year, John, son of the Duke of Brabant, married Margaret,

by their objection to the payment of a tallage; in consequence of which, on the morrow of St. Philip and St. James (2 May), the whole race, without exception of age or sex, were by the king's precept thrown into prison, where they remained until they had appeased the royal indignation by the payment of twelve thousand pounds. (Chron. Thomæ Wikes, p. 114.)

¹ Joan, second daughter of Edward the First, surnamed of Acres, in the Holy Land, from her birth in that city, born 1272; married, 1st. Gilbert de Clare, seventh earl of Gloucester and Hertford; and 2ndly, Ralph de Monthermer, without her father's consent, and had issue by both. (See Nicolas's *Siege of Caerlaverock*.)

his other daughter. And after this it was decided by the king and his council, at the instigation of the apostolic see, that all the Jews of England should go into exile between the month of August and the feast of All Saints, under pain of death if they should be found in England after that feast. In the same year, a Sir Thomas de Weyland, a justice, forsook the land on account of his felony.¹

- xix. Sir Ralph de Sandwich, governor. Thomas Rumeyn and William de Leyre, sheriffs.

In this year, on the eve of St. Andrew, died Eleanor, wife of King Edward, and was buried at Westminster. In this year, died the queen, the mother of King Edward, and was buried at Ambresbury, and on the Monday before the feast of St. Nicholas, her heart was buried in the church of the Friars Minors at London.²

- xx. Sir Johan de Bretton, governor. Ralph le Blount and Hamond Box, sheriffs.

¹ See Appendix.

² Eleanor of Provence, who died at an advanced age in the month of June 1291. She directed that her body should be buried in her convent at Ambresbury, but that her heart should be deposited in the church of the Friars Minors at London. A peculiar disposition of the heart was not at all an unusual circumstance in those times, *e.g.* the tradition as to Bruce's heart. See also Archæol. xxix., p. 186.

In the same year, at Easter, the king moved towards Scotland. At this time the Normans came over with a great navy, and landed near the hermitage at Dover, and pillaged and burned a great part of the town.

- xxi. Sir Ralph de Sandwich, governor. Henry le Bole and Elias Russell, sheriffs.

In this year, discord arose between the king of England and Sir John Baliol, and later he was made king of Scotland. In this year, the right hands of three men were cut off for felony. In this year, Sir Ralph de Sandwich was deposed, and Sir Johan de Bretton was made governor. In this year a quarrel arose between the Cinque Ports and the Normans, and the Cinque Ports conquered the great navy.

- xxii. Sir Johan le Bretton, governor. Robert de Rokesly and Martin de Ambresbury, sheriffs.

In this year the king of Scotland came to London to the Parliament. In the same year, the justices in Eyre sat at the cross of stone.

- xxiii. Sir Johan le Bretton, governor. Richard of Gloucester and Henry Box, sheriffs.

In the same year, the Cinque Ports conquered the great navy of Spain. In this year there happened so great a flood in the Thames, that it submerged a great part of the lands of Bermondsey and all the land around, which is now called the Breach.

xxiv. Sir Johan le Bretton, governor. Johan de Dunstable and Adam de Hallingbury, sheriffs.

In the same year, died Sir Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester.¹ And there arose a war between Sir John Baliol, king of Scotland, and the king of England. In the same year, the king conquered the land of Wales and the land of Scotland. And Sir John Baliol, king of Scotland, and John, the young Comyn, and other barons and knights of Scotland were taken, and were all sent to the Tower of London. In the same year, Thomas de Turberville, knight, was drawn and hanged for letters of treason. At this time was the battle of Dunbar, and 26,300 men of Scotland were killed, and no Englishman of renown except Sir Patrick de Graham;² and there were taken on that occa-

¹ Gilbert de Clare, seventh earl of Gloucester and Hertford, belonged to one of the most powerful families on the English side of the border, fought at Evesham on the royal side, although he had fought at Lewes for Simon de Montfort. He was high in favour with Edw. I. whose daughter he married (see p. 22 *antea*). In 1287 he had the command of the army which invaded South Wales. He died in 1295, and was succeeded by his son Gilbert, who was slain in 1313 at the disastrous battle of Bannockburn, when the earldom of Gloucester became extinct.

² Sir Patrick de Graham, a valiant knight, and "noble amongst the noblest," disdained to ask for quarter, and was slain in circumstances which extorted

sion of the Scotch, 3 earls, 7 barons, 28 knights, 11 clerks, and 13 camp followers; and they were sent to the Tower of London.

xxv. Sir Johan le Bretton, governor. Adam de Fulham and Thomas de Suffolk, sheriffs.

xxvi. Henry Waleis, mayor. Johan de Stortfort and William de Stortfort, sheriffs.

In the same year, King Edward received the oath of the Scotch at Westminster, that they would never rise against England, nor bear arms against him, viz.: Sir Johan le Comyn, the Earl of Strathearne, the Earl of Carrick, four bishops and two abbots in the name of the clergy of Scotland, and thus passed free into their country. Yet, nevertheless, in the same year the Scotch entered England and ravaged Northumberland,¹ and made a certain William

the praise of the enemy. See Tytler's *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 114-116.

¹ The MS. Bibl. Egerton, No. 650, f. 45, gives the following account of this transaction, "And in the same tyme come the Scottes agayne into Englonde, and dystroyed Northumbarlond and brent and robbet it, and kylded bothe man and womon, and chyldryn that lay in cradylles, and brent also holy chyrche. And dystroyed crystendom, and toke and bare away Englysshe mens goodys, as thai had been saryzins and paynymes. And all the world spake of the wykkednesse that thai diddyn throghe crystendome." In consequence of this trespass the whole kingdom of Scotland was placed under an interdict.

Wallace their leader. And then the Earl Warren,¹ Sir Henry Percy,² Sir William Latimer,³ and Sir Hugh de Cressingham,⁴ then treasurer,

¹ John Earl Warren was appointed governor of Scotland by Edward the First. (Pat. 25 Edw. I. m. 2 and 22. Rot. Scotiæ, i. 27.) See Sir H. Nicolas's *Siege of Carlaverock*, pp. 130-136, for a memoir of this nobleman.

² Sir Henry Percy, nephew of Earl Warren, was made keeper of the county of Galloway, and the sheriffdom of Ayr. (Rot. Scotiæ, i. 31. Tytler's *Hist. of Scotland*, i. 123.) See Sir H. Nicolas's *Siege of Carlaverock*, pp. 136-141, for a memoir of this nobleman.

³ Sir William le Latimer was a firm adherent of Henry the Third, and held at different times several offices of trust. He suffered considerable losses in the barons' wars. He afterwards appears to have accompanied Prince Edward to the Holy Land, and was at the *Siege of Carlaverock* in 1300. He died in 1305, at a very advanced age. Knighton calls him *miles strenuissimus*. See a memoir of this distinguished knight in Sir H. Nicolas's *Siege of Carlaverock*, p. 253.

⁴ He was a proud and violent churchman, who preferred the cuirass to the cassock. In 1296 he was made treasurer of Scotland. (Pat. 25 Edw. I. m. 23. Rot. Scotiæ, i. 29.) Prynne in the volume of *Papal Usurpations from John to King Edward I.* calls him a canon of St. Paul's, and gives the names of several churches of which he was parson, adding in the margin, "an insatiable pluralist." Hemingford (p. 130) also calls him a prebendary of many churches. He fell, whilst leading the van of the English army against Wallace in the battle of Stirling, Sept. 11,

followed William Wallace and took the castle of Stirling; and the next morning our men went out full six miles to give battle to the said William Wallace; and the said William Wallace, with his forces, drove back our men to the Bridge of Stirling, and there Sir Hugh de Cressingham, the treasurer, was killed, and many of our men.

xxvii. Henry Waleis, mayor. Richard de Refham and Thomas Saly, sheriffs.

In this year, on the eve of the Epiphany, there was an earthquake. At this time the

1297. The indignities with which the Scots treated the body of Cressingham are borne testimony to by numerous historians. His dead body, says Hemingford, was mangled, the skin torn from the limbs, and in savage triumph cut into small pieces, to be preserved, not as relics, but for spite. Other writers state that they made saddles and girths of his skin. Wallace himself, according to the Lanercost Chronicle, is said to have had a sword-belt made of it. See *Archæologia*, xxv. p. 607, for an engraving from a small circular seal of Hugh de Cressingham, appendant to an instrument preserved in the library of the Society of Advocates at Edinburgh. In the area a swan is represented standing in front of a tree, in the attitude of preparing to attack some other animal. The inscription round reads: S. HUGONIS FILII WILLELMI DE CRESSINGHAM. No notice of any of Cressingham's family occurs, unless it may be in the *Scala Chronicon*, in which he is said to be of low origin.

king married Margaret, sister to the king of France.

xxviii. Elias Russell, mayor. Johan Darmentiers and Henry de Fingry, sheriffs.

At this time the Pollards were put to ransom on Christmas Eve, and the following Easter were forbidden everywhere. At this time a great part of the Holy Land was gained by the king of Tars in the month of January, and in March of the year of grace 1299; and on the feast of St. Mary Magdalene following, the battle of Falkirk took place, where 57,317 Scotchmen were killed, and one valiant English knight, a hospitaller, named Brian Jay, who, as he pursued William Wallace as he fled, struck his spurs into his horse, and his horse rushed into a deep morass, and when William Wallace saw this, he turned and killed him.¹

Anno domini M^o. ccc.

¹ The MS. Bibl. Egerton, No. 650, f. 39, gives the following account of this battle and of the death of Sir Bryan de Jaye. "And on Saynt Marye Mawleyne daye the kyng come to Foukyrk and yaf batayle to the Scottes, and at that batayle were kyllede of the Scottes .xxxiiij. thousande, and of Englysemen .xxviiij. persones and no mo, of the wheche was a worthy knyght slayne that was an hospitalere that men called frere Bryan Jay, for when Wylliam Waleis flew from the batayle that same frere Brian Jaye pursued freshly and hys hors start and ran into a myre and marrasse up on to the body, and Wylliam

xxix. Elias Russell, mayor. Lucas de Havering and Richard le Champs, sheriffs.

In this year, at Candlemas, Sir Edward, son of the king, was made Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester. At this time the Comte d'Artois and four other Counts, and innumerable people, were killed by Piers Conow of Flanders. And the same year, King Edward returned to Scotland, and came to the castle of Stirling, which was well stored with men, and victuals for seven

Waleis turned agayne, and kyled the forsaid Bryan Jaye. And that was moche harme." Tytler (*Hist. of Scotland*, vol i. p. 167.) states that nearly 15,000 Scotchmen were left dead upon the field. On the English side only two men of note fell; one of them was Sir Bryan de Jaye, preceptor of the Scottish Templars, who, when pressing before his men, in the ardour of the pursuit, was entangled in a moss in Calendar Wood, and slain by some of the Scottish fugitives. The other was a companion of the same order, and of high rank. His name according to Carrick (*Life of Wallace*, vol. ii. p. 38,) was John de Sautre, "Maister de la Chivalerie de Temple en Ecosse." MS. Cott. Domit. A. iii. f. 36b, and Matthew of Westminster, p. 431, state that Bryan de Jaye was preceptor of the Knights Templars in England; but it is certain from the *Rotuli Scotiæ* 29, Edw. I. m. 12, 11, that he was preceptor of that order in Scotland. We there find "Brianus de Jaye, Preceptor Militiæ Templi in Scotia." Trivet, p. 313, says, these two religious knights were slain at the commencement of the battle.

years; and the king could do nothing, so well defended was the castle. And then the king commanded that two poles 60 feet high should be raised before the gates of the castle, and swore a great oath, that whosoever was in the castle—be he count, baron, or knight, high or low—if they did not surrender the castle at once, should be drawn and hanged to the poles without any mercy from him. And when those inside heard this, they at once opened the gates and yielded to the king, and the king forgave them for their resistance. And then all the great men of Scotland took oath to go each year to Westminster to his Parliament, and to be at his disposal.¹

xxx. Johan le Blount, mayor. Piers de Bosenho and Robert le Callere, sheriffs.

In this year the Earl Marshall and Earl of Hereford enfeifed the king of their lands and tenements, and the king remained in possession forty days. The king refiefed the two earls and

¹ See "The Wallace Papers," published by the Maitland Club, p. 166, and for a list of English nobility at the siege of the Castle of Stirling, printed from the contemporary document (32 Edw I.) in Sir Francis Palgrave's Documents and Records illustrative of the History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 274. For an account of the siege, see Tytler's Hist. of Scotland, vol. i. p. 205, *et seq.* The surrender of Stirling completed the reduction of Scotland.

the heirs of their body, and if they had no heirs, with reversion to the king and his heirs. In this year came the Exchequer to York. In the same year, when the war had ceased in Wales, Scotland, and Gascony, to recover the expenses incurred during the last twenty years, he caused justice to be done on evil-doers, and was called Traylebastoun;¹ and by this means the king gained great treasure, and through this act of justice the Commons of the land lived in equity for two whole years throughout England.

xxxi. Johan le Blount, mayor. Simon de Paris and Hugh Pourte, sheriffs.

¹ The "Ordinatio de Trailbaston," is extant on the Parliament Roll (Rot. Parl. i. 178.). The commission pursues the term of the ordinance. Lord Coke (4 Inst. 34) says they were called justices of Trailbaston, because they proceeded as speedily as one might draw or trail a staff; and others have supposed that they obtained their title from their staves of office. It is obvious, however, that the name was originally applied either to the offender or to the offence, as the commission is docketed "*De transgressionibus nominatis Trailbaston audiendis et terminandis.*" The offenders are described as murderers, robbers, and incendiaries, wandering from place to place, and lurking in woods and parks. (Rot. Pat. 33 Edw. I. p. 1. m. 8d. MS. Addit. 5444. f. 135.) Perhaps, says Lingard, they were generally armed with clubs; whence the offense might be called an act of trailbaston. See *The Political Songs of England*, vol. iv. p. 11 (*Bibliotheca Curiosa*, No. 25) for "The Outlaws' Song of Traillebaston," and the note, same page.

At this time the treasury of the king at Westminster was robbed.

xxxii. Johan le Blount, mayor. John de Boreford and William Combemartin, sheriffs.

At this time Sir Roger Brabazon and Sir William de Bereford sat in justice to inquire who had robbed the treasury of the king at Westminster.

xxxiii. Johan le Blount, mayor. Johan de Nicol and Roger de Paris, sheriffs.

At this time William Wallace was taken in Scotland, and led prisoner to London on the day of St. Dominique, and judgment was given against him that he be drawn, hanged, and beheaded, his bowels burnt, and his body divided into four quarters, and his head stuck on London Bridge the eve of St. Bartholomew.¹

² William Wallace, or Walays, was the second son of Sir Malcolm Wallace of Ellerslie, near Paisley, a simple knight, whose family was ancient, but neither rich nor noble. After escaping from the hands of his enemies for some time, he at last fell a victim to the confidence which he reposed in a friend and countryman, and was betrayed by Sir John Menteith, a Scottish baron of high rank, and governor of Dunbarton. On the night of the 5th August, 1305, strongly fettered, and guarded by a powerful escort, under the command of Robert de Clifford and Aymer de Valence, he was hurried to the south, by the line of road least exposed to the chance of a rescue. (Carrick's Life of Wallace, ii. 155.) From a docu-

xxxiv. Johan le Blount, mayor. Reynold de Tun-
derley and William Cosyn, sheriffs.

ment discovered in the Chapter House at Westminster, printed in Sir F. Palgrave's Documents and Records illustrative of the History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 295, we learn the high amount of the rewards given to the traitors. Forty marks, equal to thirty pounds, were given to one person, who had watched Wallace; sixty marks (forty pounds) were given to others who had been employed in the same mission; a like sum was divided among those who had been present at his capture; and land to the value of one hundred pounds was assigned to Sir John Menteith. So anxious was Edward to wreak his vengeance upon the head of Wallace, that no sooner had he obtained possession of his captive, than he appears to have made preparation for his execution. He arrived in London, attended, as might have been expected, by a great multitude of spectators, upon Sunday, 22 August, 1305, and was lodged in the house of William de Leyre, a citizen, in the parish of All Saints, Fenchurch Street. On the morrow, being the eve of St. Bartholomew (August 23), he was conducted on horseback to Westminster Hall, Sir John de Segrave, and Sir Geoffrey de Segrave, the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen of London, many both on horseback and on foot, accompanying him. (MS. Addit. 5444, f. 138^b.) Sentence of death having been pronounced against him, he was then dragged at the tails of horses through the streets, to the foot of a high gallows, placed at the Elms in Smithfield. After being hanged, but not to death, he was cut down yet breathing, his bowels taken out, and burnt before his face. His head was then struck off, and his body divided into four quarters. His head was placed on a pole on London Bridge, his right arm

In this year, on the day of Pentecost, Sir Edward, son of King Edward, was knighted, and ninety-two knights were created in honour of him; and the said Johan le Blount, the mayor, was knighted the same day. At this time, Simon Frisel¹ was drawn, hanged, and beheaded, his bowels burnt, and the body with-

above the bridge at Newcastle, his left arm was sent to Berwick, his right foot and limb to Perth, and his left quarter to Aberdeen. (Tytler's Hist. of Scotland, vol. i. p. 214.) The documents connected with the trial and execution of Wallace may be found amongst "The Wallace Papers," pp. 181-193, published by the Maitland Club. Carrick, in his "Life of Wallace," vol. ii., p. 157, states that Geoffrey de Hartlepool, recorder of London, rode on one side of Wallace during his progress from Fenchurch Street to Westminster Hall. This circumstance is here noticed, because the first mention that is made of a recorder of London is in this reign, the above Geoffrey de Hartlepool, alderman of Candlewick Ward (MS. Lansd. 558, f. 205), being (A.D. 1304) the first who was appointed to that high office, which has been continued ever since.

¹ Frisel was the original form of the name of Fraser, and is the way in which it is spelt in all the English documents. He was the eldest son of Simon Fraser, the ancestor of the baronial houses of Saltoun and Lovat; and a faithful adherent of Sir William Wallace. For a memoir of this distinguished personage see Sir Harris Nicolas's *Siege of Carlaverock*, p. 216. A song composed on the execution of Sir Simon Fraser may be found in *The Political Songs of England*, vol. iii. p. 65, (*Bibliotheca Curiosa* No. 25.)

out a head hanged a second time, and watched all night; and the same day two Scottish knights were beheaded in the Tower of London.¹ In the same year, the Bishop of St. Andrews, Sir Robert the Bruce, the Earl of Carrick, and all the other barons of Scotland, were obliged, by oath and other affirmation at Westminster, never to take arms against England on pain of being disinherited, and to lose life and limb; and on this affirmation, they were allowed to go free to their own country. At this time, in one night and one day, Holy Church throughout all England was robbed by King Edward of all the treasure that was found therein. And soon after the Scotch elected Robert the Bruce their king; but Sir Johan le Comyn would not in any way assent to his coronation, wherefore Robert the Bruce killed him in the Church of the Friars minors at Dumfries; and afterwards, on the feast of the Assumption of Our Lady, King Edward marched into Scotland and took the town of St. John, and encountered Sir Robert the Bruce and his company, of whom were killed 24,217 Scotch,

¹ There was only one knight that suffered death on the same day, viz., Sir Herbert de Morham, a Scottish knight of French extraction, who had been imprisoned and forfeited his estates in 1297, and liberated under the promise of serving Edward in his Flemish war. His squire, Thomas de Boys, also suffered with him. (Tytler's Scotland, i. 250.)

and Sir Robert the Bruce fled. In this battle were taken the bishop of Glasgow, the bishop of St. Andrews, the abbot of Scone, and others, armed like traitors against their oath, and were led before King Edward; but he would not have them tried because they were prelates, but kept them in armour, and guarded, until he received information from the apostolic see as to what was to be done with them.

xxxv. Sir Johan le Blount, knight, mayor. Edmund Bolet and Geoffrey del Conduit, sheriffs.

At this time the Earl of Athol¹ was hanged and beheaded in London. At this time the two brothers of Robert the Bruce were taken in Scotland, and hanged. In this year, on the

¹ John 10th Earl of Athol was one of the chief associates of Bruce in his arduous attempt to restore the liberties of Scotland, and assisted at his coronation at Scone, 27 March 1306. On the discomfiture of Bruce the same year the Earl of Athol, endeavouring to escape by sea, was discovered, and conducted to London. Notwithstanding he was allied in blood, through his mother, to the English monarch, such was the animosity of Edward against those who had supported Bruce that Athol was condemned to death in Westminster Hall, 7 Nov. 1306, and executed the same day, on a gallows thirty feet higher than ordinary, in consequence of his royal descent. He was let down before he was dead, his head cut off, and fixed on London Bridge, and his body burnt to ashes. (Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, vol. i. p. 133. Edit. Wood.)

16th day of April, Sir John Wallace, brother of William Wallace, was hanged and beheaded. At this time died dame Joan of Acres, Countess of Gloucester; and then died King Edward in Scotland, on Friday, the feast of the translation of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and his body was brought to Westminster on the eve of the Assumption of Our Lady.





A P P E N D I X.



P. 45. The following account of the severe punishments inflicted on Sir Thomas Weyland and several others of the king's judges, is taken from the Parliamentary Writs, vol. i. p. 14 *note*, and other authorities.

“Proclamation was made that all who had any complaints against the king's justiciars, ministers, or bailiffs, of injuries done to the people whilst he was out of the kingdom, should prefer them in person before the parliament which had been summoned to meet at London on the feast of St. Hilary. In consequence of this proceeding, it appears that the truth of the allegations of the complaints was ascertained in the usual manner, viz. by an inquest of twelve men; and by this inquest *Thomas de Weyland*, the chief justice of the common bench, was found guilty of having caused a murder to be committed by one of his squires, and of having harboured the murderers. *Sir Thomas*, who was in subdeacon's orders, and who had also received knighthood, escaped from the officers by whom he was arrested, and fled to the monastery of the Minor Friars at Bury St. Edmund's, where he was allowed to

take the habit of the order. After forty days had elapsed, he refused to quit his sanctuary; upon which the 'laity,' probably the sheriff and his posse, besieged the convent, and entirely prevented the introduction of any kind of victual. The Friars, yielding to hunger and thirst, abandoned their house, all except three or four 'veterans,' who remained with *Weyland*. The latter, finding that his frock would not protect him, 'maxime cum cibaria non haberet,' re clothed himself in his secular garb, and surrendered himself to *Robert Malet*, by whom he was lodged in the Tower of London. Being brought before the council, and arraigned concerning the 'treasons and felonies which he had committed against the king and the kingdom,' he was allowed his choice—either to abide the judgment of the court, or to be adjudged to perpetual imprisonment, or to abjure the king's dominions for evermore. He submitted to the last of these hard conditions; and the port of Dover having been assigned to him, he journeyed thither barefooted, bareheaded, and carrying the cross in his hands and passed the sea; and all his lands, and all his goods and chattels, were seized by the king. And this *Thomas*," continues the monk of Dunstable, with great exultation, "gave for law, that if any malefactor escaped from the hands of those who had him in custody he should be punished as a prison-breaker. Moreover, he gave for law, that the secular arm should withhold food from every malefactor flying to the church for protection, if after forty days elapsed he should refuse to abjure the kingdom, according to the law. Et postea juxta illud Catonis; *Patere legem quam ipse tuleris*, ipsemet secundum ipsas leges graviter

est punitus." All the other justices of the lower bench, the chief justice of the upper bench, the clerk or master of the rolls, and many others, were thrown into the dungeons of the Tower, from whence they were released upon payment of very large fines. According to a document, intitled "*Summa Pecuniæ de Justiciariis Regis per Regem extorta*" (MS. Cott. Claud E. VIII. p. 260), *Radulphus de Hengham*, chief justice of the upper bench, paid eight thousand pounds; *Johannes de Lovetot*, three thousand pounds; *Willelmus de Brumpton*, six thousand pounds; *Rogerus de Leycestre*, one thousand marks (the three last were the Fellows of *Thomas de Weyland*); *Solomon de Roff*, chief justice in eyre, four thousand marks; *Richardus de Boylond*, four thousand marks; *Thomas de Sodintone*, two thousand marks; *Robertus de Preston*, one thousand marks—all justices in eyre; *Robertus de Litlebury*, clerk of the rolls "*qui minimus censebatur*," one thousand marks; *Willelmus de Saham*, justice in eyre, though entirely innocent, "*in quo dolus seu fraus non est inventus*," paid three thousand marks to conciliate the king. The heaviest punishment was inflicted upon *Adam de Stratton*, baron of the exchequer, who was accused or convicted of murder, treason, and sorcery, and, after a long imprisonment in the Tower, was deprived of all his lay-fee, fined thirty-four thousand marks, and despoiled of jewels without number, which were found in his possession, and valued (according to Cott. MS. Faust. A. VIII. f. 173) at thirty thousand marks sterling. His manors of Halingbury, Widford, Cowyk, Upton, and Richmond, were granted by the king to the monastery of Bermondsey. (Annals of Bermondsey, MS. Harl. 231,

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